

## Message Text

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APPROVED BY P:PCHABIB

S/S: MR. SEBASTIAN

IO:JABAKER

EUR:JARMITAGE

S -HDCOLLUMS

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 198381 TOSEC 200283

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, UNSC, GR, TU

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: GREECE, TURKEY AND THE  
SECURITY COUNCIL (S/S/NO. 7617120)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM BAKER, ACTING, AND ARMITAGE,  
ACTING, THROUGH HABIB

### 1. THE PROBLEM:

GREECE TODAY WILL ASK FOR A MEETING OF THE UN SECURITY  
COUNCIL TO CONSIDER ITS DISPUTE WITH TURKEY OVER THE  
VOYAGE OF THE "SISMIK." IN THAT EVENT, WE WILL NEED  
YOUR GUIDANCE ON OUR POSITION IN THE COUNCIL.

### 2. BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS:

THE GREEK PERMREP TODAY (TUESDAY) WILL ASK THE SECURITY  
COUNCIL TO MEET ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE "SISMIK."

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THIS COULD MEAN CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN SECURITY COUNCIL

MEMBERS ON TUESDAY AFTERNOON WITH A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING BEGINNING SOMETIME ON WEDNESDAY OR THURSDAY, DEPENDING ON HOW HARD GREECE PRESSES. WE LEARNED THAT BITSIOS WILL BE COMING FOR THE DEBATE AND THAT THE GREEK PERMREP EXPECTS INSTRUCTIONS THIS AFTERNOON ON THE KIND

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OF RESOLUTION HE SHOULD SEEK. BITSIOS IS ARRIVING WEDNESDAY NIGHT.

SEPARATELY, THE DUTCH, AS SPOKESMAN FOR THE NINE, REPORTED TO US THAT GREECE WILL SEEK A RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD:

-- ASK TURKEY TO CEASE IMMEDIATELY ITS ACTIVITIES ON THE DISPUTED PARTS OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF; AND

-- ADVISE THE PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE TO BRING THEIR CASE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE OR TO RESUME DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS.

### 3. GREEK OBJECTIVES:

THE MAXIMUM GREEK OBJECTIVE IS TO OBTAIN A RESOLUTION CALLING ON THE TURKS TO CEASE THEIR SEISMIC RESEARCH OVER THE DISPUTED SHELF AND TAKE THE ISSUE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE. AT THE LEAST, THE GREEKS WILL WANT TO (1) PROTECT THEIR LEGAL POSITION TO THE FULLEST EXTENT POSSIBLE WITHOUT THE USE OF FORCE AND (2) SATISFY GREEK PUBLIC OPINION. (UNFORTUNATELY, WE LEARNED THAT PRIVATE US AND BRITISH INTERNATIONAL LEGAL EXPERTS HAVE ADVISED THE GREEK GOVERNMENT THAT SOMETHING BEYOND MERE PROTEST IS REQUIRED TO PROTECT THE GREEK LEGAL POSITION.) GREECE WOULD NOT BE HAPPY WITH, BUT MIGHT SETTLE FOR, A RESOLUTION THAT CALLED FOR RESTRAINT BY THE PARTIES AND URGED THEM TO NEGOTIATE THEIR DIFFERENCES OR TAKE THEM TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT, OR BOTH.

### 4. TURKISH OBJECTIVES:

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TURKEY'S MAXIMUM OBJECTIVE IS TO BRING THE GREEK GOVERNMENT TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE ON THE CONTINENTAL SHELF QUESTION WITH A MINIMUM OF OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE WHILE IN THE MEANTIME CONTINUING SEISMIC RESEARCH OVER THE SHELF AS PLANNED. HENCE THE TURKS WILL SEEK A WEAK UNSC RESOLUTION THAT CALLS FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND AVOIDS ANY MANDATORY LANGUAGE REGARDING SEISMIC OPERATIONS OR THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE. THE TURKS WILL

NOT BE DEFLECTED FROM THEIR SEISMIC RESEARCH PROGRAM, BUT INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE MIGHT CAUSE THEM TO LIMIT THE DEPTH AND DURATION OF THEIR INCURSIONS INTO THE DISPUTED AREA. THE TURKS HAVE NOT ANNOUNCED THE DETAILS OF FUTURE SAILINGS BY THE "SISMIK" AND HAVING NOW REGISTERED WHAT THEY BELIEVE TO BE THEIR RIGHTS IN THE AEGEAN, COULD PRESUMABLY MODIFY THE SHIP'S ACTIVITY IN A WAY THAT IS POLITICALLY MANAGEABLE FOR THEM.

5. POSITION OF SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS:

WE HAVE YET TO TAKE SOUNDINGS ON THE ATTITUDES OF OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL. PRESUMABLY, TURKEY WILL RELY ON PAKISTAN AND LIBYA TO PROTECT ITS INTERESTS. BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY WILL LOOK TO THE US AND THEIR OTHER ALLIES -- THE UK, FRANCE AND ITALY -- FOR EVIDENCE OF SUPPORT. THE TYPICAL TENDENCY OF MOST SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS WILL BE TO FIND A FORMULA IN A RESOLUTION OR IN A CONSENSUS WHICH BOTH PARTIES CAN SUPPORT.

6. US OBJECTIVES:

WHILE AVOIDING AN OFFICIAL POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF LEGAL RIGHTS ON THE SHELF, WE WILL WANT TO SATISFY THE GREEKS THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL EXERCISE IS SUFFICIENTLY REWARDING TO REMOVE THEIR NEED TO TAKE MORE FORCEFUL ACTION. THIS ARGUES FOR A FAIRLY THOROUGH AIRING OF THE ISSUE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. IT ALSO SUGGESTS THAT WE WILL NOT WANT TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN THE DRAFTING EXERCISE BUT INSTEAD:

-- CLOSELY COORDINATE OUR POSITION WITH THE UK, FRANCE AND ITALY.

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-- PRIVATELY URGE THAT COMPROMISE LANGUAGE BE DEVELOPED WHICH WOULD REFER TO THE VARIOUS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT ARTICLES OF THE UN CHARTER, AND PARTICULARLY ARTICLE 33 WHICH CALLS UPON PARTIES TO SELECT ANY ONE OF A NUMBER OF TECHNIQUES TOWARD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, INCLUDING JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT.

-- ENCOURAGE RESOLUTION LANGUAGE ASKING THAT BOTH PARTIES EXERCISE RESTRAINT.

AS FAR AS THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE IS CONCERNED, WE WOULD PLAN TO SPEAK LATER IN THE DISCUSSIONS. WE WOULD PROPOSE DECIDING PRECISELY WHAT TO SAY WHEN WE FIND OUT THE STRENGTH AND DIRECTION OF THE GREEK PROPOSAL AND ITS PROBABLE IMPACT ON THE COUNCIL AND THE TURKISH POSITION.

7. RECOMMENDATION:

THAT YOU APPROVE THE FOREGOING STATEMENT OF OBJECTIVES AS  
OUR INITIAL POSTURE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE WILL PLAN  
TO GIVE YOU AN UPDATE ON THE SITUATION IN NEW YORK BEFORE  
YOUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE DUTCH WHEN YOU ARE IN THE HAGUE.

APPROVE:        DISAPPROVE:

8. DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:GBHELMAN/EUR/SE:WEAGLETON  
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ROBINSON

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